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**University Student Austrian-Turks and Their perceptions
of Homeland vs. Hostland: Is Roots Migration possible?**

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INTRODUCTION

In this study, I focused on Turkish-Austrians and their profiles, homeland and hostland perceptions. Their profiles and perceptions can help me to understand their return possibility to Turkey. My target group is second/third generation of university student Turkish immigrants who have potential to return back to Turkey. I examine this focus group as a significant part in the roots migration process because the rates of roots migration from receiving countries to Turkey have increased. I focus on the purpose to return among second/third generation Turkish immigrants who study for a degree in Vienna/Austria.

Return migration is a part of migration process which contains voluntarily return of migrants to their homelands. Turkish-Austrians who were born and grew up in Austria consider moving to Turkey permanently or for a long time period. I would like to use the term of 'roots migration', instead of return migration. Roots-migrants attribute a new meaning to culture, identity and homeland. Susanne Wessendorf determines the concept of roots migration to describe the migration to a place where members of the second generation originate from, but they have never lived. She also underlines that migration to the parents' country of origin has been largely understudied in research on the second generation (Wessendorf, 2007: 1084). In migration literature, return migration generally explains that the first generation's return aims to their homeland and roots migration tries to focus on the second/third generation's homeland perception and their possibility to live in their country of origin.

The second/third generation of Turkish migrants grew up in transnational environment. Young Turkish generations have suffered from several integration problems. The general educational status of young Turkish generations is not enough good. Turkish youngsters has several schooling problems which affects their their future employment and social prestige. Additionally, the Turkish second/third generation still bears a strong Turkishness which opens a road to isolate them from mainstream Austrian society. Despite they live in Austria, they have strong social relations with Turkey and Turkish culture. Among Turkish migrants in Austria, these relations lead to them considering moving to Turkey.

Turkey becomes a magnet for highly educated, second/third generation Turkish-Austrians especially who can have several opportunities in there. Highly educated young Turkish-

Austrians have developed their unique cultural areas in regarding to Turkishness and Austrian experiences. Including as result of economic, politic and social factors; some of them begin to consider 'roots migration' to re-emigrate to Turkey.

In the study, university student Turkish-Austrians are examined in three major steps; profile of sample, perception of Turkey and perception of Austria. Based on a deep literature research and in-depth interviews, this study tries to display if they really consider re-emigrating to Turkey in near future.

ROOTS MIGRATION

As mentioned above, Susanne Wessendorf (Wessendorf, 2007: 1084) determines the concept of roots migration to describe the migration to a place where members of the second generation originate from, but they have never lived. She also underlines that migration to the parents' country of origin has been largely understudied in research on the second generation. Only recently have there been some studies focusing on the children of transatlantic migrants such as Greeks from North America (Christou 2006¹, Panagakos 2004²) or Caribbeans from Britain (Potter 2005)³ who 'return' to their parents' homeland. (Wessendorf, 2007: 1084). It is also important to respecify that in the migration literature, the concept of return migration also examines the second generation and their perception of their return possibility to their parents' homeland. In addition, the second-generation has mainly been studied on the receiver country in the literature. Likewise, studies on return migration generally consider that the first generation's return possibility and their re-integration into their homeland. On the other hand, it is significant to realize that all the transnational expeceriences and realities; such as return migration and the first generation because they help to understand the second generations's homeland perception and their wish to live in there.

Furthermore, first-generation return migration are generally considered in the social conditions between homeland and hostland which compireses transnational relations. First

¹ Christou, A. (2006) 'American dreams and European nightmares: experiences and polemics of second-generation Greek-American returning migrants', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(5): 831_45.

² Panagakos, A.N. (2004) 'Recycled odyssey: creating transnational families in the Greek diaspora', *Global Networks*, 4(3): 299_311.

³ Potter, R.B. (2005) 'Young, gifted and back': second-generation transnational return migrants to the Caribbean', *Progress in Development Studies*, 5(3): 213_36.

researches on return migration differentiate immigrants for whom return is unit of initial migration politics and those who intent for permanent settlement in the receiver country and choose or are forced to return because of the political, economic and social conditions. It has been stated that, in many cases, the basic reason for return are non-economic; it is deeply-related to strong family bonds.

The return dream has been always existed and it is also a significant part of labor immigrant's characteristic. Thus, the nostalgia of the homeland is an important phenomenon for labor immigrants.

Transnational practices are important and complicated realities of immigrants. Glick Shiller (Glick Schiller 2004)⁴ explains transnational relations in two ways; 'ways of being' and 'ways of belonging'. While transnational 'ways of being' refers to the actual practices and social relations individuals engage in, 'ways of belonging' refers to emotional connections to persons or localities that are elsewhere, and practices that signal a conscious connection to, or identification with, a particular group. Thus, individuals can engage in transnational ways of being in their social relations and everyday practices. However, only those who highlight the transnational elements of who they are express transnational ways of belonging (Wessendorf, 2007: 1090).

Transnational practices have significant place in the childhood of second-generation. Additionally, it is also a determining factor for ways of being and ways of belonging. In general, the second-generation has still strong social ties with their family, relatives and cognate friends; this situation is deeply related to transnational ways of being. Nonetheless, there are also a number of individuals who are continue to related to transnational ways of belonging and who feel particularly tough about the 'home country' are the roots migrants. Although they do not 'return' to their parents' homeland (they have never lived there), they move to a place which has always been part of their identity and their everyday lives, and their migration is strongly motivated by nostalgia (Wessendorf, 2007: 1091).

Second-generation roots migration could be interpreted as a reaction to such intensely trans-local childhood and juvenescence. The term 'roots' not only reflects the roots migrants' own interpretation of where they come from, but also their aspiration to settle in just one place and to cease to lead lives characterized by mobility. This somewhat contradicts the contestation of

⁴ Glick Schiller, N. (2004) 'Transnationality', in Nugent, D. and Vincent, J. (eds) *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*. Malden: Blackwell, 448_67.

the 'rootedness' of identity in social sciences and confirms that 'modern individuals continue to "centre themselves" in a notion of home which is itself centered on the specific spatial and temporal coordinates of the homeland' (Basu, 2004).

The roots-migration of second-generation is a new and compounded field to research which involves trans-local and transnational practices. Also a small group of second-generation migrants think about returning to the homeland is interesting to analyze what expectations roots-migrants hold.

The Second/Third Generation

In European context, the second generation refers to the children of immigrant families whose families came from ex-colonies or were employed as a guest-worker. The majority - but not entire amount of them- was originally from rural regions and less educated.

The integration process of second generation is a key point and there are several aspects about the integration process. As Thomson and Crul (Thomson & Crul, 2007) into what section of society are young people integrating? Whereas through education and, to a lesser extent, in the workplace, there is the potential for 'formal acculturation' of the second generation into the mainstream, their more informal experiences outside school or work can be more significant, especially if they have been left disillusioned by poor schooling or low-paid and low-status employment. The values that we often assume are a prerequisite to integration, such as upward mobility through a good education and hard work may not be highly prized by some members of the second generation. This situation can bring conflict within households if parental expectations of their children are not fulfilled or are opposed, and especially when immigrant parents are unable, due to poor language skills and limited knowledge of the new culture, to control how their children are integrating -a process which has been described as 'dissonant acculturation' (Thomson & Crul, 2007).

Moreover, the second generation in Europe might be studied under the theory of segmented assimilation. Segmented assimilation theory is based on the recognition that American society is now extremely diverse and segmented, with an underclass residing in central cities where many new immigrant families first settle upon arrival. Thus, it is argued that different groups are available to which the new immigrants may assimilate, and that as a result they may take

divergent assimilation paths. These paths include conventional upward, or “straight-line,” assimilation, downward assimilation, and “selective acculturation” (Yu & Greenman, 2005: 1). As Portes and Zhou (Portes & Zhou, 1993) proposes that immigration countries that the United States is a stratified and unequal society, and that therefore different “segments” of society are available to which immigrants may assimilate. Portes and Zhou delineate three possible paths of assimilation that immigrants may take. The first is essentially what is predicted by classical assimilation theory, i.e., increasing acculturation and integration into the American middle class (for brevity, referred to henceforward as Path 1). The second is acculturation and assimilation into the urban underclass, leading to poverty and downward mobility (Path 2). The third, “selective acculturation”, is the deliberate preservation of the immigrant community’s culture and values, accompanied by economic integration (Path 3). The theory emphasizes that there is more than one way of “becoming American,” and that Americanization is not necessarily beneficial (Yu & Greenman, 2005: 3).

Turkish Second Generation: The second generation of Turkish immigrants has several problems under the context of integration, education, employment. The educational typology of the Turkish second-generation shows that they always have lower-educational level and higher drop-out rates, despite there are some individual success stories. In Germany, Turkish youth are statistically much less likely to graduate from the higher educational streams than native Germans, whilst in France, 46 per cent of the Turkish second generation left school in 1999 without any diplomas, against 24 per cent of the total population. The Turks, disproportionately reside in more deprived areas where schools are more likely to have fewer resources, more disciplinary issues, and higher staff turnover. This echoes some of the notions in the downward mobility variant in the segmented assimilation theory. (Thomson & Crul, 2007: 1033). As Maurice Crul cities that the greatest distinctions can be seen in the percentages of young people of Turkish origin in vocational tracks — considered the “lowest” secondary-school type in all countries. In France, about one-quarter of the Turkish second generation follows a vocational track while comparable figures stand at one-third for Belgium and the Netherlands. In Germany and Austria, the figure is between two-thirds and three-quarters. National contexts therefore vary widely in the types of opportunities available to the Turkish second generation. One might now be tempted to conclude that France and, to a lesser extent, the Netherlands and Belgium provide the best institutional contexts for migrants, that is not the whole story. However, drop-out rates are very high in France, Belgium, and the

Netherlands and considerably lower in Germany and Austria. Thus it is difficult to single out one country in which the Turkish second generation is doing better. But it is possible to identify what works well and what blocks mobility in a particular country (Crul, 2007).

The concept of downward assimilation can be considered to understand educational problem of Turkish second. According to Thomson and Crul, downward assimilation is nonetheless too striking in its pessimism and too definitive in its claim that downward assimilation is a permanent feature of certain immigrant communities. Even those children of some ethnic groups, like second-generation Turks, who are considered to do less well than other children of ethnic groups, are still upwardly mobile compared to their parents. The problematic behavior of boys in at-risk groups is often a feature of the in-between generation, and is less an issue in the second generation. As time passes, and younger generations are born, these behavioral difficulties seem to lessen (Thomson & Crul, 2007 :1033).

Turkish Second Generation in Austria In Austria, the educational status of Turkish generation is not different from other European countries. According to Herzog-Punzenberger, the most compelling evidence of differences in school careers between native Austrian and Turkish youth is the overrepresentation of Turkish children in special schools. A disproportionately large number of Turkish children end up in a school for educationally subnormal children called special school (Sonderschule) -4.7 percent of the pupils with Turkish citizenship in grades 0 to 8 attend a special school, whereas only 1.5 percent of children with Austrian citizenship are in these schools-. This development probably results from a combination of factors, such as poor knowledge of German, unfavorable learning conditions, lack of parental support, learning difficulties, and a system that is not prepared to deal with heterogeneity in that it tends to sort out those with whom teachers are not prepared and/or willing to deal. Actually, this educational position of Turkish second-generation is expected because of low educational background of parents, traditional gender relations, absences of role models. Additionally, the Austrian education system has also some structural problems in the concept of integration and education; particularly homogeneity problems in multilingual/ multicultural classes, deficiency of extra-support for children before and after school (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003: 1132).

The education level is not only area which shows general socio-economic position of Turkish second generation; labor market is also able to indicate integration problems. Firstly, it is important to say that there are no recent studies which focus on the second generation in the labor market. But, at least Herzog-Punzenberger finds out some points with regard to 2001 Labor Force Survey⁵. As she asserts that most descendants of the Turkish “guestworkers” are below age 25, few have entered the labor market and those who have made the transition have been active on the labor market for only a few years. The Labor Force Survey 2001 indicates that two thirds of the male population with a Turkish background aged 15 to 20 is already in the labor force. The other third mainly consists of students and apprentices. Half of the male Turks between ages 15 and 20 who are still in school follow an apprenticeship course, which is necessary to become a skilled worker. Among women, a larger part (55%) is not active in the labor market. Many of them are married and have children (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003). In addition, the second-generation Turkish entrepreneurs have expanding business activities. According to Austrian Institute for SME (SME, 2007)⁶, the self-employment quota of persons with migration background varies between about 5% for the 2nd generation to about 10% for foreigners who have attained Austrian citizenship in the meantime. About 40% of all Austrian self-employed persons with a foreign citizenship are citizens of a Western European country, mainly coming from Germany, 40% stem from Eastern European countries (including Turkey) and 20% from a variety of other countries. With regard to the individual nationalities German, Ex-Yugoslavian and Turkish entrepreneurs are the most important groups of self-employed persons with a migration background. Self-employed with a Turkish citizenship work more often in the field of hotels and restaurants and are less active in financial intermediation as well as in other community, social and personal service activities. Contrary to Turkish self-employed who show the lowest shares of women (about 20%).

To summarize, the general view over Turkish second-generation does not make a positive impression. In Austria, the Turkish second-generation has significant integration problems which affect their educational and labor market positions in mainstream economy and society.

Roots Migration in the Turkish Second-Generation Concept

⁵ *Arbeitsmarktservice Österreich (Labour Market Service Austria) 2001 Jahresdaten (Yearly Data) 2001*, Vienna: AMS.

⁶ KMU FORSCHUNG AUSTRIA, Irene Mandl&Andrea Dorr

The return behaviors of second-generation have created attention. Roots-migrants attribute a new meaning to culture, identity and homeland. Unfortunately, studies on roots-migrants are very limited. In addition, return migration of first generation is also not thoroughly examined, under the both political and social concept. There are only a few studies which concern Turkish return migration from Europe.

Turkey does not have a specific immigration policy. However, the Turkish government states that all activities services undertaken by them available to all Turkish citizens, including return migrants (Regioplan, 2005). At the beginning of early eighties, restrictive immigration policies were pursued by countries which had received Turkish immigrant workers, together with financial incentives for returning workers. However, around the same time, some of the receiving countries offered Turkish immigrants the possibility of full integration, allowing them the same rights given to nationals of that particular country. This resulted in the acquisition of a new citizenship. In order to integrate into society and to attain appropriate working and living conditions, Turkish immigrants often sought to acquire the citizenship of the state in which they lived, but in addition to their Turkish citizenship. These developments, in which Turkish immigrant workers sought to acquire dual citizenship, led to a shift in Turkey's own citizenship policy in the early 1980s.¹³ For example; in 1981 the Turkish Nationality Act was amended to remove obstacles to dual citizenship for Turkish citizens. Given the sizeable number of Turkish immigrant workers in Western European countries intending to live with their dependents in those countries, it became necessary to introduce dual citizenship into Turkish law. Therefore, the Turkish population living abroad acted as a catalyst for the formation of citizenship policies for the period of 1980 to 2000 (Tiryakioglu, 2006). Returnees without Turkish citizenship also have many legal rights as ex- Turkish citizens; except voting rights, military service duty, working for public office.

Besides second-generation has significant education problems, they have better education level than their parents. Moreover, a small minority of second-generation migrants, whose family came from Turkey, have individual success to get higher educational degree. It is obvious that second-generation migrants had less life experience in Turkey because they had spent limited time in there. In this situation, returning to Turkey depends on marriage, education and job/entrepreneurial opportunity. Additionally, the family decision of permanent

return is significant for second-generation so this family decision also orients some second-generations to live in Turkey. On the other hand, some others may decide to return while their families continue to stay in Europe. Basically, return migration has been discussed in relation to consequences and impacts for the sending as well as the receiving countries, (re) integration constituted the main theme of investigation and analysis. Taking into consideration a number of studies dealing with this issue, it seems possible to provide a set of different answers. It can be stated that return decisions are influenced by economic, social, cultural, political as well as psychological factors (Tılıç-Rittersberger, Celik, & Özen, 2011)

While Turkey continues to be a country of outmigration it is also becoming a country of immigration. In the year 2000 (latest data available for foreign born by country of origin) some 1.3 million or 1.9% of the 67 million inhabitants were foreign born. In the year 2000 the share of Germans in the foreign born population of Turkey amounted to 21.4% (273,500) and of Austrians to 1.1% (14,300). The numbers and the share of Germans and Austrians in the Turkish population are growing, mostly highly skilled second generation migrants who return to their parents' home country to take advantage of employment opportunities as Turkey is rapidly restructuring and in need of skilled workers to support the export led growth strategy (Biffl, 2011)

To sum up, the image of 'returning home' might be not definitely perceived as living in there forever for second generation who was raised in Austria. They will want to ensure for a possible future return to Austria. Especially, potential returnees, who return with individual decision, will live in Turkey more temporarily. In other words, Austria certainly might not be the only country they would like to live; they spend some time in Turkey to work, study then will turn back to Austria whenever they want.

EMPRICAL ANALYSIS

The study has been comprised in several steps. In the beginning, a large literature research was controlled; including the related previous studies on Euro-Turks, international migration, labor migration, return and roots migration. Additionally, literature on Austrian-Turks is also

examined. In the second step, a focus group discussion was reduced to practice. The focus group discussion had three people who carry out focus group's characteristics. While the group were discussing, significant points were determined carefully. In regard to the focus group discussions' result, in-depth interviews were prepared. 15 in-depth interviews were supplied and recorded in Vienna. The interviews contained 55 questions and took average 45-60 minutes. However interview language was Turkish, some interviewees expressed their selves in German in some points. The open-ended and semi-structural questions were built up in three stages; profile of sample, perception of Turkey and perception of Austria. Interviews were transcribed then translated from Turkish to English.

I have carried out 15 semi structural questions and open-ended-interviews with my focus group with the aim to recreate my theory of mind of advice. I used recapping qualitative content analysis conducting to three main stages.

PROFILE OF SAMPLE

In Austria, approximately 350,000 people live in Austria who has Turkish descent. During this research, 15 interviews were made with interviewees who have Turkish descent. All interviewees live in Vienna and they are all students who study in there. Interviewees study at the University of Vienna, WU (Vienna University of Economics and Business) and TU Wien (Vienna University of Technology). The sample was examined from perspectives of gender, age, field of studies and region. Unfortunately, the sex dispersion of interviews has not equal age proportion; there are 9 women and 6 men interviewees.

The age dispersion of interviews is determined under three age categories. First category comprises the age distribution between 20 and 25 and there are 8 interviews in this category. In second category, which has the age distribution between 26 and 30, compasses 6 interviews. For the last category, there is only 1 interview which represents the age distribution over 30 years old.

Interviewees were born in both Austria and Turkey but only five of them were born in Turkey. Three of Turkey-born interviewees migrated to Austria at relative early ages and two of them attended school in Turkey before their migration process. On the one hand, these two interviewees specify that they have better Turkish skills than other second/third generation friends because they had chance to learn Turkish in Turkey, On the other hand, they do not think that they have any lack of German language.

In generation respective, interviewees are member of both second and third generation. 5 of them are second, 10 of are third generation. This situation easily says that Austria already have third generation which will promote fourth generation soon.

All of their parents and grandparents migrated to Austria to work. Mostly, they have several relatives in Austria or in other European countries. Interviewees reported that relatives are one of the most important pull factors for immigration. Besides economical deficiency, some interviewees also express that domestic politics of Turkey is another push factor to immigrate; especially for families who have Kurdish descent.

About marital status, only three of interviewees are married, others are still single or engaged. Married interviewees have Turkish spouses and one interviewee has a child.

Additionally, interviewees reported that they do not disagree with intermarriages in theory, but some of them consider their parent's negative reaction.

Of course, intermarriage is so normal in today's world but I cannot do that because my family is extremely against intermarriage. I know, it is inane and insularity perspective but they would not change their mind and I do not want to offend against my family. Nothing is more important that my family, even falling love (Rana, 26).

I am not against intermarriage but I also do not support. And now, you are thinking why I am so narrow-minded about this, right? Well, I believe that a person should protect his/her native culture and hand on next generations; intermarriage would not allow this (Rabia, 24).

About residency, six of interviewees still live with their families; five of them have their own living place and four of them live in a dormitory. When asked for owning car, five of interviewees told they have their own car.

Despite all interviewees are student, most of them have been already employed. Except four interviewees; other eleven interviewees reported that they have part-time or full-time jobs. Six of them work part-time, other five interviewees work full-time.

Language

After first generation guest workers decided to stay in their host countries, a young generation of Turkish immigrants began to grow up in abroad. The second generation and third generation still live in their host countries and lack of German language is a significant problem for Turkish immigrant population. In Austria, all generations persist to speak their native language; especially at home. Despite first generation, second and third generation can speak German fluently, in some respects; they have some deficiency about German language.

Interviewees reported several ideas about German language deficiency of second and third generation. Speaking Turkish at home and in basic environment is one of popular answers. They also stress that school classes have not ethnically homogeneous structure so children continue to speak Turkish at school too and there is no effective Turkish classes in schools. Because they cannot learn their native language clearly, they also are not able to learn perfect German.

They do not want to speak German clearly, they just want to show that they are the 'others' and like to have a different sociolect (Deniz, 22).

They cannot speak either a good Turkish neither a good German; it is just like our identities, we are not totally Austrian, we are not totally Turkish, we are stuck in an identity-limbo (Muazzez, 23).

I think Turkish children in Austria should not to watch Turkish TV channels for a long time because they are addicted to watch Turkish TV series desperately. Unfortunately, they cannot contradistinguish in Turkey and their reality in Austria (Sinan, 29).

When asked interviewees about their first language (the language they can speak best), eleven of them inform that German is their first language. Three of them say that Turkish their first language and for two interviewees, both Turkish and German are their first language.

In their perspective, none of them have any problem with German language in speaking/understanding and reading/writing levels; they are proficient in every level of German. In case of Turkish, they give different answers. Mostly, they do not have significant problems to speak or understand Turkish. In writing/reading level, they are not so confident with their Turkish knowledge. They generally say that they did not attend any Turkish classes so they have deficiencies about grammar and literature. They have been improving their Turkish in writing/reading level individually.

I always have dreams in Turkish; I speak Turkish automatically when I am happy, upset and angry. Maybe I have some problems about Turkish grammar but not necessary, whole my reactions are at first in Turkish (Ozan, 28).

Honestly, my Turkish had not been that good before I met my Turkish friends who came to Austria to study. Thanks to them, my Turkish much more better now (Rana, 26).

In intellectual level, I prefer to use German because I have difficulties to read or write comprehensive texts in Turkish. Unfortunately, I did not chance to attend Turkish classes. Whatever I cannot understand people who grew up in Austria and still have German language problems. Such a pity, they wasted their school time, learnt everything in minimum (Umur, 27).

Interviewees, who have Kurdish descent, reported they have limited Kurdish knowledge and they do not feel confident to speak Kurdish language. Only one of them informs that she has intermediate Kurdish language level.

Additionally, all interviewees speak English as foreign language. Some of them can speak other European languages too.

I am ethnically Kurdish but I cannot speak Kurdish because my family did not teach me; we speak Turkish at home. Isn't it ironic? I can speak several languages; German, Turkish, English and French; expect Kurdish (Gokhan, 22).

Education

In Europe, Turkish second/third generation of migrants still have a wide problem of presence for schooling. Unfortunately, the performance of these children generally lags behind children of non-immigrants in all school-success indicators; they drop out at higher rates, repeat grades more frequently, and are concentrated in the least-challenging educational tracks. The educational gap between the second/third generation and children of native-born parents is a great concern for policymakers and politicians in local and national governments (Cruel 2007).

The Turkish young migrants struggle with difficulties in school. In aggregate, they have the lowest schooling rate in all host countries, they are more likely to drop out and they fall behind with higher education rates. In this regards, Turkish second/third generation migrants have weak opportunities and higher education chances to by analogy with children of non-migrants parents.

Despite evidence shows, there is a significant amount of individual success to continue higher education. Unfortunately, most of Turkish families do not come from a cultural orientation which emphasizes higher education. Towards this research, it can be easily understood how migrant's parents have important role during their children's schooling period.

In this research, all interviewees are involved to higher academic educations and they have had steady success during their schooling period; because of this situation, there was always a big expectations to go on to university and beyond. When asked their current field of studies, they gave different answers. As a second/third generation migrants, interviewees tend to study academic programmes which have public prestige. 5 interviewees study law, 5 of them business administration or economics; 2 interviewees attend pedagogy school and the three other students study architecture, engineering and information systems.

Interviewees mostly chose their academic programmes of their own will but they were influenced by their parents widely. In this case, parents have an important role on their children's choice. 9 of interviewees decided their academic programmes under the influence of their parents. They express that they have not been able to make a good decision for their academic future because they had not gotten enough information about academia that is why they think that there is no harm for their parent's influences.

When all expressions are summed up, nearly all interviewees state that they had deficient information about universities, academic programmes and their abilities. They did not get any help to supply their deficiency. They also stress that there were no one who could be role model for them.

I am the first person who attends university in my family; I mean the Austrian part of my family otherwise my cousins in Turkey have already held higher education degrees. I do not know why Turks in Austria are much more conservative than Turks in Turkey, same for my family. I really fought with my parents to continue my education, literally I fought. They are pleasant now that their daughter will get university degree but it was really hard to convince them. In Turkey, families support their children so much to go to any university but in Austria, Turks find higher education unnecessary because they are sure that their children will be employed anyhow. Maybe, parents in Turkey think that holding university diploma helps to get a good job and go up into higher social class in Turkey but in Austria, you will always be a Turkish, and even you have PhD degree (Seniha, 31).

On one hand, all interviewees agree that there is a big educational gap between Turkish migrant back-grounded children and other children in Austria. When I asked the reason of this educational lack, they mainly gave same answers. Their answer can be collected in three main groups. Firstly, Turkish families generally have an inadequate educational history; they came to the Austria with lower human capital level because of their rural background.

Secondly, there are several parent-based educational problems about Austrian educational system. Turkish children attend school at age 6 thus they start to learn German. But they cannot be able to have enough German knowledge to be successful in formal education system. In addition, Turkish parents cannot help their children for their school assignments because they do not have fluent German to understand and read and they rarely follow parent's meeting so Turkish parents and teachers cannot work together.

Some parents cannot realize that kids must go to kindergarten to gain skills for primary school. Parents still think kindergartens are some kind of play lots, no idea about preschool education. And yes, there is also a German deficiency. Turkish children should improve their German before then they can study properly (Muazzez, 23).

Thirdly, Turkish children generally attend a class which is composed of other Turkish children basically; that is why Turkish children cannot improve their German skills in expected level and communicate other students in school. Because of lack of German language, Turkish children push to attend mainly German classes then they do not have a chance to get other classes.

Turkish students always have to attend German classes first, but education means not only German. If a student gets mostly German classes, how can he/she find the time for other lessons? (Narin, 29)

Identity Description

Second and third generations are generally considered with both cultures of homeland and host-land. Culture can be defined by the norms and standards of a group that will delineate the appropriateness of behavior. Bicultural individuals, therefore, have psychological access to two sets of cultural norms that may be tied to geography, ethnicity and/or religion (Lalonde &

Giguère, 2008). Biculturalism of second/third generation in Austria causes several social conflicts because of gap between two different cultures, but they do not have identity crisis. Despite they grew up in bicultural society, they often tend to stand for their native culture. During interviews, only one interviewee accepted Austrian identity with underlining his bicultural situation. Others reported that they do not define their selves as Austrians. Most of them say that they only have 'citizenship tie' with Austria, they are not Austrians. Nine of interviewees said that they are Turkish/Kurdish; three of them are world citizen or human being and two of expressed they are Austrian citizens with Turkish/Kurdish descent. As wrote above, only one interviewee accepted Austrian culture as an identity.

I do not agree with others. I am not % 100 Turkish, I cannot be. I grew up in Austria and I speak German as a native speaker. I cannot reject influence of Austrian culture, nobody can. On the other hand, of course I am Turkish. It is the reality; I am both Austrian and Turkish. (Umur, 27)

Despite I like to live in Austria, I cannot see myself as an Austrian. I am Turkish who lives in Austria; there is no other explanation for me (Ozan, 28).

I am really sick of this identity crisis and labeling people because of their ethnicities. Everybody talks about globalization and also stress importance of ethnicities and local cultures, such a dilemma. I am world citizen, an easy way to express my feelings (Seniha, 31)

Islam is, by and large, considered and represented as a threat to the European way of life in the West. It is frequently believed that Islamic fundamentalism is the source of the xenophobic, racist and violent attitudes present. If so, then in order to tackle such constraints, discourse on culture, identity, religion, ethnicity, traditions and the past becomes essential for minorities in general and migrant groups in particular. This is actually a form of politics generated by outsider groups (Kaya & Kentel, 2005: 60). As Will Herberg suggested that (Herberg, 1955) that second-generation immigrants would be less religious than their parents, and that by the third generation individuals would return to their religion as a way of

distinguishing themselves from others. In this perspective, interviewees have second generation characteristics.

Despite interviewees are not as religious as their parents, they still care about their religion and nobody rejects importance of religion. Interviewees report that all of them define their selves as a Muslim. Except one interviewee, all interviewees define their selves as a faithful person. Religion is one of the greatest patterns of Turkish culture but there are also several sects and diversities of Islam in Turkey. Basically, people believe in two main sects; Sunni and Alevi. Particularly, they yearn for religious holidays and its special traditions in Turkey and complain that they do not have chance to celebrate these days.

I do not believe in God, I am not faithful but I can say I am Alevi because my religion is also a part of my culture, a part of me (Rana, 26).

You also knew...Last month, there was our Kurban Bayrami (Muslim Feast of Sacrifices), so what? Nothing...It was like a regular day because everybody must work or go to school. But in Turkey, in our hometown... My cousins celebrated and had lots of fun; I could only phone them, just phoned (Muazzez, 23).

About politics, interviewees do not show any special reaction. They have political views but do not have strong political consistency. Five interviewees define their selves as social-democrat, four interviewees as democrat. Three of them said they are leftist, two interviewees are liberal and two interviewees are not sure about their political views. When I asked how they get their political orientation, they mostly reported that they share almost same political view with their families. Additionally, their political orientation is based on Turkish political tradition because they are interested in Turkish politics more than Austrian politics and they specify Turkish political terms better. Particularly, interviewees with Kurdish descent have deeper concern politics in Turkey because of their family's political conflicts against Turkish Republic. About Austrian politics, interviewees basically distinguish between racist parties and others.

According to European Union relations, interviewees are disappointed in EU in economic affairs as Austrian citizens. They think enlargement of European Union has been decreasing economic stability since 2000s and they do not want to suffer from economic bottleneck because of other countries.

It is unfair to pay more taxes or bills because of other EU countries. Austria is a small country but one of the important stakeholder of EU so Austria save EU with our money. For their prosperity, we should make a sacrifice (Sinan, 29).

Interviewees support Turkey's participation in the European Union; however they do not think that Turkey does not need EU in economic patterns, contrary to EU needs Turkey to weather current financial crisis. In socio-politics patterns, they are sure that membership would provide more democracy and political respect for ethical values and develop the execution of human rights.

In past, I could not image that there is a chance to Turkey's participation in EU. I guess EU is more moderate about Turkey now because of Turkey's economic boom. Turkey has an economic power now which can change some conditions and EU needs Turkey as a growing market in its region. Addition to this, Turkey extremely needs EU to improve its political and social conditions. Turkey must carry out several reforms urgently to refine these conditions (Ercan, 26).

Turkey's participation in EU will bring more democracy for Kurdish people and other minorities. I would like to return to Turkey if Turkey will join EU because EU participation will provide political controlling so Turkish governance will become more equal for Kurds (Harun, 23).

Being Migrant and Being Second/Third Generation

Interviewees explain they no longer perceive their country of origin as a final destination for permanent return. Instead of this, they want to derive benefits both from Austria and Turkey. Their identities are more transnational, active, urbanite and flexible now. They do not want to be described as foreigners in Austria and they request the approval of their biculturalism. Interviewees think that they are much more integrated into Austria than their grandparents and/or parents. Despite their expressions, most of them feel more affiliated with Turkey. Four interviewees report that they are equally close both to Austria and Turkey. Only three interviewees feel more affiliated with Austria.

Definitely, I am more affiliated with Turkey because I feel Turkish. It does not mean that I do not like to live in Austria but I belong to Turkey (Narin, 29).

It is hard to answer...I grew up in Austria and I speak German better than Turkish. It seems my whole life is in Austria. In other side, I have a Turkish identity which I cannot ignore. Well, both of them are my countries (Seniha, 31).

Turkey is my country of origin but my life in here, the answer is Austria (Rana, 26).

As interviewees report that integration is the greatest dilemma for Turkish migrant community in Austria. Interviewees state several problems that they face in Austria as a Turkish migrant. They think that Austrian mainstream society does not know their culture in a good way and there is a huge prejudice for their community. They also complain that there are limitations for their culture, particularly about Islam. Some interviewees imply Turkish community tends to ignore mainstream society and live in their neighborhoods because they can be blamed for anything easily. Additionally, some Turks do not want to communicate with main stream society because they abstain to lose their Turkishness or Islamic faith.

Okay, lots of Turks do bad things; drugs, violence etc...But not all of us! Of course, we are not pleased either because of their attitudes. In Austria, many Turks have their own business and good careers, why do not want to see this reality? (Rabia, 24)

Somebody bombed Twin Towers in USA; sorry for that but it is not my guilt. I do not want to be judged by others because I am Muslim. What they expect, am I supposed to do change my belief because of some Arabic terrorists? (Narin, 29)

I cannot understand some Turkish guys. They have non-Turkish girlfriends, but they want to marry Turkish girl because their future children must be % 100 Turkish, ridiculous (Ozan, 28)

About discrimination, they have different opinions. Some of them have never faced any discrimination personally but they know other Turkish people had bad experiences about discrimination. Some interviewees faced discrimination in school, at work place. During schooling period, they had some difficulties with their teachers. I stress that lack of German language is still significant problem for Turkish community. Despite Turkish migrants can speak German, most of them still have difficulties to use German language clearly.

I had some bad experiences with a teacher at school. She was intolerant for Turkish student. I have been a successful student, still I am. Once I had a bad exam result, just an exam and that teacher insisted to imply that I am not enough good to attend university and suggested to get a job in short, instead of studding. I did not consider her recommendations so I am at university now (Eda, 22).

I have not faced a real discrimination personally. Yes, I have been experienced in some improper behaviors or statement but they were general. You know, old people look at you in a bad way because you have foreign appearances or somebody say something about foreigners should

return. It is childish to expect everybody's approval or love; there are always opponent ideas for other groups (Rana, 26).

Interviewees can be quite objective when they are talking about negative impacts of Turkish people on the mainstream Austrian society. They also underline that they are not satisfied with unacceptable attitudes. They have several example and stories of negative attitudes of some of Turkish people. According to interviewees, Turkish community tends to isolate their selves from other Austrians. Because of this isolation, they are up against various integration problems. Eight interviewees reported that integration problem is most negative impacts of Turks.

We, Turks have still been dreaming about same thing: making lots of money as much as we can and having properties, apartments in Turkey; this is the same plan since 1960s -70s so we do not care anything in Austria. Actually, nobody needs to be integrated. Why do they make an effort? They can reach everything through Turkish network; it is easier, isn't it? (Sinan, 29)

In the past, only lack of German language was seen as integration problem, because first generation was a foreign population who just communicated with Austrians in train stations, work places as workers and cleaners so this invisible 'guest' population needed only German to be integrated. Nobody could recognize that the problem is bigger than language. Today, second/third generation can speak German but integration problem is still so lively. I think the real integration problem has started with second generation; Turkish population became visible with second generation. Turkish are permanent citizens and in everywhere now; at school, in parks, in cafes etc. with their non-integrated Turkishness (Narin, 29)

Beside integration problems, some of Turkish people insist on not adapting to local values. Five of interviewees complain about this problem. Especially, teenagers and young Turkish men have significant problems to accept the values.

It is simple; they are showing their social inequality in this way. They know that they will always be seen as children of guest workers. They hate this social class, want to go up into a higher social class but they cannot; they do not have enough qualifications so they show their anger to reject social values. (Gokhan, 22)

Some Turks act like crazy. They freak out about keeping their religious belief or traditions. They avoid any personal contact with non-Muslims, expect obligatory contacts. All strangers are potential enemy for their religion or Turkishness in their perspective so they consciously put gaps between their community and others. I guess increasing Islamophobia after 9/11 attacks help them to be isolated (Deniz, 22).

Additionally, one interviewee mentions that some Turks avoid working fairly and abuse social security system consistently. And another one interview thinks that Turks have no negative impacts to Austrian society.

In some case, I agree with Austrians...You know, nobody can say we (Turks) are ideal citizen for Austria. Some families have many children unpleasantly to get money (family assistance or maternity leave payments) from Austrian state, some women have literally 'full-time mom' job. (Pelin, 21)

I do not think Turks have exact negative impacts for Austrian culture. There are always some in a community who tends to commit an illegal act

or behave badly. Turkish community has that kind of people like Austrians or other immigrant groups, not a big deal (Ercan, 26).

Besides negative impacts of Turkish community, Turks have also positive impacts. Interestingly, interviewees report many negative impacts but they give only two main answers for positive effects. For nine of them, Turkish labor force is the most important impact of Turkish migrant community. They stress that Austria owe a great deal to Turkish migrants for economic boom.

Yes, our parents and grandparents came to Austria to work, make money and get better life but they worked hard, they had worse jobs which are unwanted from Austrians and they stayed bad living areas. Nobody appreciates their endeavor to just get better life. (Ozan, 28).

Austrians should accept this; they are rich today because our grandparents worked for them very hard, they are not the only holder of today's welfare and richness. (Harun, 23).

Why does not anybody appreciate Turkish people who do good things? For example, Turkish entrepreneurs make successful investments. Or Turkish football players are good at their jobs. This situation is not supportive for Turkish community at all (Sinan, 29).

Others, six of interviewees reported that Turkish migrant population adds a value of cultural diversity and richness into Austrian culture. They explain several examples and their examples can be determined as acculturation.

Today, everybody eats döner and kebab, does grocery shopping from Turkish markets. In Germany, the amount of regular markets and Turkish

markets is nearly same; not only we (Turks) like Turkish goods, everybody likes. It is also a good thing for European culture. (Ercan, 26).

At least, Austria has met another religious belief via Turks. Austria had not contained a Muslim population historically; there are some mosques in Austria now (Rabia, 24).

Second/third generation grew up in striking transnational environment. As Wessendorf states that despite similar cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, second-generation migrants have developed a variety of ways in which they relate to their parents' homeland, to hostland, and to the social arenas in which they live. For some members of the second generation being of migrant origin does not play an important role in their everyday lives (Wessendorf 2007b). According to interviewees, being children of guest workers/migrants is an important for them because their identities were also shaped by this reality.

When I was child, I wanted to be like others; it was so inconvenient to have migration background or to be different. By time, I understand that it is my richness then I made it up my differences. (Rana, 26).

Before we were naturalized, our Turkish passports were listed as 'isci cocugu' (children of workers). Of course, my parents' social statuses were important for us both in Austria and Turkey (Seniha, 31).

I belong to a country which is idealized by my parents and I know that Turkey is not better than Austria but I feel I would have a better life in there. (Narin, 29).

In Austria, I have everything and I am proud of my migration background. If my family did not immigrate to Austria, I would not be able to have a standard of life in this level. (Seda, 22).

It is a sort of tricky situation. Immigrant background can be hard to hold because of discrimination or homesickness but there are also advantages. Simply, I grew up as a bilingual person or I can compare my culture and other culture (Deniz, 22).

Interviewees are mostly satisfied with their current economic and social conditions. They report are luckier than their grandparent or/and their parents. Ten interviewees think that their socio-economic conditions are better than their grandparent or/and their parents. Five interviewees express that they have much better socio-economic conditions compared to their previous generations.

It is so meaningless to compare our generation's conditions with previous generation's conditions. Obviously, every condition is better for us. I guess they have felt as aliens in a foreign country for a really long time (Harun, 23).

They were poor from rural Anatolia without enough education. They have suffered so much in a foreign country. Okay, our generation still has several problems but our conditions cannot be compared to their conditions (Rana, 26).

When interviewees compare their current conditions with their previous conditions, most of them decide that their current conditions are better and for three of them, they have much better socio-economic conditions. Only two interviewees think their socio-economic conditions are same.

It was harder when I was a child. Our family had to save money strictly. Nowadays, all conditions are better (Seda, 23).

For me, all conditions are same. I was a child whose family has migrant background; now, I am a person who has migration background (Deniz, 22)

The migration perspective of interviewees is more different their ancestors. All interviewees state that there is no more chance for unqualified/newly-coming Turkish migrants, because of increasing unemployment rates, intolerance to native cultures, low salaries, difficult working places and homesickness. Eight interviewees say that qualified people should stay in Turkey because Austria does not provide better life for qualified; there are also great opportunities in Turkey. Four interviewees are not sure to recommend immigrating to Austria; qualified Turkish people can find good opportunities in some cases. Three interviewees would recommend to immigrating to Austria because Turkey has democracy problems and Kurdish population still is under threat.

Turkey is not a comfortable country for artists and scientists because funds are not enough and facilities are limited. Circumstances in Turkey do not let them to improve their selves so these kinds of successful people can immigrant to other Austria, but there is no chance for others (Narin, 29)

Kurdish question is still alive in Turkey and Kurdish politics and intellectuals are under pressure so Austria will be a good destination to immigrate (Seda, 23).

Susan Wessendorf proposes the term of 'roots-migration' as relocation of second generation. For her, 'roots-migration' has nostalgic characteristic because second generation feel a similar nostalgia for the country of origin as their parents, and despite harsh economic and structural conditions in native land, they see life its villages as attractive alternative to their lives in host-land (Wessendorf 2007a).

When asked about returning back to Turkey, they gave two different perception of roots-migration. First perception is existed by idealized images of the Turkey and possible difficulties of integration after the migration, related to politic and socio-economic difficulties.

In Austria, we will always be strangers, non-Austrians and Muslims. I like to live Austria but something is missing in here. If a person has a chance to live in his/her native country, he/she should live in there because he/she belongs to his/her roots. (Muazzez, 23).

In Turkey, I find everything better; its nature, social relations, and foods...everything...I know that life is not that easy in there but more meaningful and lively, for sure. (Eda, 22).

The second perception is shaped by more realistic images of Turkey and relatively satisfying integration in Turkey.

Turkey is developing rapidly; nobody can reject this reality. There are enormous business opportunities in there if man has good relations with European culture. Indeed, life is much more attractive in Turkey for a person who has money (Sinan, 29).

Okay, Turkey is such a nice country with several natural beauty, sun, sea etc. Turkey can fascinate anybody during holidays but living in there is a totally different issue. Life is beautiful in there, but not better. In some point, Turkey is exhausting to live. For example, health system cannot be compared with Austria, it should be improved (Pelin, 21).

I feel good when I am in Turkey; seeing relatives and friends and being in holiday. Yet I begin to be angry after a while; people may be so rude in there or small, bothersome problems can be existed (Seda, 23).

When asked for returning back to Turkey in the future; nine of interviews give positive answer, four of them say no and two of them are not sure. Interviewees, who give positive answer, consider returning back in any case; no matter which social, economic and political conditions Turkey has.

I would like to return back to Turkey in any conditions. I believe that I will be happier in there. My grandparents came to Austria because there were not enough job opportunities in our hometown in that time. It was hard to find job in Turkey as an unqualified so they moved to abroad. Everything is different for me; I am educated and have a specific profession so I have chance. I would like to live a big city in Turkey like Istanbul or Izmir (Rabia, 24).

After graduation, I would like to move to Turkey when I find a good job. My sister returned two years ago and she is happy in there. For sure, conditions would be better or worse, in any situation, I have chance to keep living in Austria (Ozan, 28).

Furthermore, four interviewees report they would consider returning back to Turkey if Turkey has stabilized economic and political conditions because they particularly do not trust political atmosphere in regard of Kurdish problem and these four interviewees also have Kurdish roots. Nine of interviewees, who give positive answer to return back, report that they would certainly return.

I would like to return back to Turkey if nobody discriminates my people because of their Kurdish identity otherwise I would stay Austria, at least I feel safe in here as a Kurdish. (Seda 23)

I do not know, I cannot answer this question right now because I am still student and my future is not clear enough. To return back to Turkey, I will have to find a good job and I have no prediction for my future husband's opinion about Turkey (laughs). But I would like to live in Istanbul, such a gorgeous city (Eda, 22)

PERCEPTION of TURKEY

The second/third generation Turkish migrant population, who studies at one of Austrian universities, is focus group for this study. During this research, 15 of them have been interviewed by using in-depth interview with open-ended and semi-structured questionnaire. Interviewees of this study have a different situation from other Turkish migrants in Austria, Austrians and Turks in Turkey. In other words, they do not shape for stereotypical persons constituted by Austrian and Turkish societies. They are Euro-Turks who have wider world view than first generation, less educated second/third generation. In order to grow up in transnational social environment, they are bicultural and distinguish from Austrians. They cannot be same as Turks in Turkey because they have migration background in a receiving country.

For interviewees, Turkey is not perceived as a last destination of return but it is still the nostalgic country of ancestor. Interviewees reported that all of them have already integrated into main stream Austrian society but they still feel more affiliated with Turkey generally. They also stress that they should be reconsidered by Austria and Turkey, their differences should be understood better.

As interviewees say that they often visit Turkey. Seven of interviewees visit Turkey every year; six interviewees visits Turkey more than once a year and only two interviewees visit Turkey rarely. Interviewees have different reasons to visit Turkey. Mainly, they go to Turkey to visit their relatives and homelands (ten interviews). Beside them, four interviewees visit Turkey for holiday, seaside and sun. Only one interviewees visit Turkey to manage his future business contacts.

I visit Turkey as much as I can. When I was a younger, Turkey was just for holidays and relatives. Nowadays, I go to Turkey for more professional interests; for an internship, job interviews (Sinan, 29).

Turkey means holiday for me, no more meanings. Whole my family lives in Austria, I do not have any personal contacts in there so do not prefer to go there so often. There are also other destinations to visit (Gokhan, 22).

Interviewees specify that they are acquainted with the facts in Turkey, if they interested in or not. Interviewees have a general knowledge about any circumstances in Turkey, at least. About politics, they have different ideas and politic views. I asked how much they are interested in politics in Turkey; eight interview report that they are interested in as much as they can. Four interviews interested in very much so, one interview say so-so and two of them are not really interested in.

I do not want to be so into Turkish politics because it makes me sick. There is always about bad news, although I am informed in some way (Rana, 26).

I am interested in Turkish politics very much so because I would like to understand all circumstances in there (Sinan, 29).

It is not possible to be away from Turkish politics because everybody talks about politics around me, particularly Turkish politics. We watch Turkish news every night at home and I also read news from internet. (Rabia, 24)

As the figure cities that interviewees are affiliated to different parties. Two interviewees support the government party which is called AKP (Justice and Development Party). Because of their Kurdish roots, three interviewees are affiliated BDP (Peace Democracy Party). Four interviewees support opposition party CHP (Republican's Party) and six of them strictly

report that they do not trust any party in Turkey. They think that there huge domestic politic problems in Turkey.

Nobody expect me to trust Turkish politicians, they are all liars. Turkey has great potential to improve itself in every field, but it has bad politicians who are not reliable. I cannot understand how all politicians could tend to corruption, immorality... (Ercan, 26)

I would like to vote for AKP if I had Turkish citizenship. I follow their policies close and find their decisions quite affirmative. Their political road map provides economic stability which I appreciate most (Sinan, 29).

CHP is our family tradition. Frankly, I cannot see a better alternative to be affiliated (Ozan, 28).

I am Kurdish so BDP would be my decision, if I had a chance to vote in Turkey. Well, I believe that BDP is the only democratic party in Turkish politics (Deniz, 22).

Interviewees think that there are some influential institutions in Turkish politics. Six interviewees report USA/EU are the most influential institutions; five of them report that it is the Turkish government. Media is seen the most influential by two interviewees; one interviewee believes in religious elites are the most influential and only one interviewee has no idea.

For interviewees, there are some important problems in Turkey. In total, nine different answers are collected. The most popular problems the Kurdish question which is stated by three interviewees then lack of education, ignorance, unemployment and economic-social instability follow up; each of them are answered by two interviewees. Last four problem, each of them are stated by one interviewee; democracy and human rights, administrative problems, health care and social security, woman's rights.

Turkey has lots problems because it is a big country but Kurdish problem must be priority. There has been a war since 30 years and thousands of people died for their freedom. I am not sure after this war, Turks and Kurds can live together peacefully but first, Kurds must get their rights against cruel Turkish state. (Seda, 23).

For me, Turkish health care and social security system is a nightmare. You know the situation in there... Everything is deficient; doctors, nurses, equipments etc. and health officials are so rude to everybody. I know there are really good doctors in Turkey but hospitals are very caotic. (Rana, 26).

I do not know what about your other interviewees mentioned but woman's rights. Yes, I know that women are equal to men legally in Turkey and there is no discrimination against women by laws. But the situation is different in social reality. I am really sick of news about women murders or violence against women. NGOs, which advocate women rights, are powerful and active but not enough to prevent crime against women. (Narin, 29).

Eight interviewees reported that they do not trust any institution in Turkey. Only two interviewees trust the government most. Other institutions interviewees trust most in Turkey (each of them are answered by one interviewee) are BDP (political party), educational institutions, army, religious institutions, social security institutions.

There is no institution to trust, each of them are involved in corruption or oriented by a political wings. No institution is enough good in there, unfortunately (Umur, 27).

I really trust in the Turkish army, despite the anti-propaganda which is directed by AKP (the governing party). Turkish army is the only patriot institution in Turkey (Ozan, 28).

Contrary to trustworthy institutions, there are some untrustworthy institutions in Turkey. Four interviews do not trust in the Turkish government. Courts, political parties, educational institutions, media and municipalities are seemed as untrustworthy institutions after then the government. Three interviewees did not give any opinion which institutions are untrustworthy.

I do not find current government reliable because of their Islamic roots. Secularism is so important for Turkey which makes Turkey democratic. Okay, Turkish democracy is not perfect, but at least a democracy (Seniha, 31).

Courts...You know that lots of journalists, intellectuals, university students and Kurdish politicians are in jail without any proper reasons. Courts are controlled by the government to keep opposition camps up by intra vires (Seda, 23).

Well, media is weird in my view; they always provoke the public opinion. They must be objective (Deniz, 22).

Interviewees have different opinions about Turkey's current situation. Seven interviewees find Turkey's current situation better than previous years; four interviewees think Turkey is much better than previous years. These two groups state that there is a great socio-economic development in Turkey and they can realize it easily during their Turkey visitations. In opposition to these two groups, two interviewees find Turkey's recent situation worse than previous years in the regard of political climate. Lastly, everything is same for two interviewees.

It is obvious that there are huge positive differences in Turkey. When I was a child, I could see that Turkey was poor country. Today, I do not see that certain poorness. Everything is better in there and I am proud of this. Some European countries do not want to realize a reality; Turkey is more developed than many other European countries. The problem is Turkey is a big country so the prosperity cannot be shared by all regions equally (Eda, 22).

I cannot ignore the recent development of Turkey about infrastructure and construction, urbanism etc. But political atmosphere is still repressive for Kurdish minority. The government continues to kill Kurdish civilians and guerillas. BDP (Kurdish political party) is threatened, even Kurdish parliamentarians. Without political liberties, Turkey cannot be enough good for me. Kurdish problem must be solved peacefully (Harun, 23).

Despite Turkey's deep-rooted problems, most of interviewees report that they are quite optimistic about Turkey's future. They state that the country has enormous domestic dynamics which provide supportive power for Turkey and they really believe that Turkey will be a stronger country in near future.

I agree with some political observer who claims Turkey will be the super of its region. We have economic power, a young population and great army force. I am quite optimistic about Turkey, everthing will be better in near future (Narin, 29).

PERCEPTION of AUSTRIA

The interviewees of this study are member of Austrian society. They are fluent in German and have social and economics networks with Austrian people. Despite most of them are affiliated

more to Turkey, they consider Austria as their home that is why they do not want to be seen as a strangers or guest population.

It is a common opinion that Turkish migrants in Austria are not keen on Austrian politics, they often focus on Turkish politics. As interviewees of this research report that this opinion is not true, it is based on a common prejudice. Eight of interviewees are interested in Austrian politics as much as they can; six interviewees say they are very much interested in. Two of them follow Austrian politics 'so so' and only one interviewee is not interested in Austrian politics.

Sure, I live in this country. As a citizen, I want to have a command of politic circumstances and I must know personal rights to protect myself (Gokhan , 22).

In addition to Austrian politics interest, interviewees tend to vote regularly. Except only one interviewee, all interviewees vote for every election. I asked which political party in Austria they are more affiliated with, nine of interviewees report to SPÖ (Social Democratic Party of Austria); four interviewees vote for ÖVP (Austrian People's Party) and only one interviewee is affiliated to GRÜNE (The Greens – The Green Alternative) and one interviewee does not vote for any specific party. According to interviewees, they really do not support the politics which they indicated. They vote for this parties because there are not any better alternative to support.

I do not trust any politic party in Austria but I vote because I do not let FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria) to become stronger in Austria. To vote just for preventing FPÖ, (Deniz, 22)

In Austria, Turkish people mainly (both left and right wings) support SPÖ and GRÜNE because of their political approaches to migrants and they hate FPÖ. No problem for leftists, it is funny for right wings people, such a dilemma...They support MHP (Nationalist Action Party) or AKP

(Justice and Development Party) in Turkey and they became leftists in Austria because of SPÖ or GRÜNE, ridiculous! (Pelin, 21)

Towards politics, when asked about the most important problem in Austria, interviewees give eight different answers. Unsurprisingly, integration is the most popular problem in their perception and it is mentioned by five interviewees. Two interviewees complain about administrative problems of Austria as an important problem. Other two interviewees state that unemployment is an increasing problem because of financial crisis in European Union. Five interviewees have different answers which are discrimination, lack of education, social complexity, narrow perspective, xenophobia and only one interviewee has no answers for problems of Austria.

For me, the most important problem of Austria is xenophobia. I guess I should be more specific because Austria has only Turkophobia. For other countries, Austria is more flexible but Turkophobia is a rising problem. (Harun, 23).

They want to see only bad side of Turks population, their perspective is really narrow and they cannot recognize this problem, sadly... (Sinan, 29).

Interviewees are satisfied with administration of Austrian state. Mainly, they trust all institutions in Austria; except FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria). Eight interviewees trust health care and social security institutions most. Two interviewees trust Austrian courts, other two trust labor unions most. For last three interviewees; political parties, municipalities and ethnical associations are most trustworthy institutions.

Austria is not like Turkey. Because of strong public consciousness, corruption rates are so low. Addition to great administration system of the country, people's social rights are protected highly (Umur, 27)

Despite interviewees really trust Austrian institutions, some of them distrust the institutions which are related to Turkey or Turkish community. Five interviewees do not trust any institutions which are related to Turkey or Turkish community. Other five interviewees trust Turkish official institutions. Three interviewees trust ethnical associations most and two interviewees trust religious institutions most.

I trust the Turkish embassy most. Despite I am not Turkish citizen, I am sure that they will take an interest when I have a problem (Muazzez, 23).

There is no Turkish institutions in Austria to trust. They are so superficial and not able to work systematically (Seniha, 31).

Except one interviewee, all of interviewees are Austrian citizen. They express that naturalization is quite important to live Austria comfortably but they would like to hold dual citizenship in future.

I am pleasant to be Austrian citizen but it is so pity that I am not able to hold dual citizenship. Hope to a new legal arrangement which let to get dual citizenship (Rabia, 24).

About civil society organizations, only eight interviewees are member of any organization. Three interviewees are member of Turkish/Kurdish ethnic associations and one is a religious association member. Three interviewees are involved to sports club and one interviewee is member of Turkish charity organization. In this case, it shows that interviewees are not interested in NGOs or CSOs such as Turks in Turkey. On the other hand, their memberships are mainly member of organizations which are related to their ethnic or religious background.

Additionally, about friendship with non-Turkish people, ten interviewees report that they have close Austrian friends whom with they always meet. Three interviewees visit their Austrian friends as families. Only two interviewees have not personal/special friendship contacts with Austrian. As this situation shows interviewees's social networks are not only surrounded by Turkish people; they also have other social networks which are not based on ethnicity.

Honestly, I do not have close Austrian friends. There are always some people to hang out or go out but we are not that close to each others. I feel more comfortable with my Turkish friends, we can share anything more deeply (Rana, 26).

Interviewees have deep concerns about Austria's current situation compared to previous years. Eight interviewees think that Austria's current situation worse than previous years. Five interviewees do not see any differences between current and previous situation. Only two interviewees report that current Austrian situation are better than previous situation.

For me, Austria is doing bad day by day because of economic problems. I am not sure it is a current problem or not. Unemployment rates and taxes are so high. There is also Xenophobia which borders me personally (Muazzez, 23).

Austria has a good geopolitical conditions and I do not think so that Austria's stability can change easily, this country has a strong administrative system (Sinan, 29).

According to economic conditions, there is a big deal of pessimism among most interviewees about the future of Austria. Seven interviewees are pessimistic about Austria's future and three of interviewees are neither pessimistic nor optimistic. Five interviewees are optimistic about Austria's future.

The last enlargement of European Union damaged Austria. As a relatively rich country, Austria has overmuch responsibility. European financial crisis is another obstacle for the country (Pelin, 21).

Austrian is a rich European country which can survive from economic recessions. Current problems will not steer future conditions so much (Sinan, 29).

CONCLUSION

This study has discovered several findings which are related to university student Turkish-Austrians as they considered a return to their country of origin. I analyzed the in-depth interviews of 15 Turkish immigrants in Austria. These highly educated young Turkish-Austrians have created bicultural and reflexive identities, in a line which provides to the reform of being Austrian and Turkish. As a member of the second/third generation, they constitute several types of social relationships. Some of their social relationships are constituted by life in Austria which mostly covers all relationships with formal and public authorities in there and others are constituted by Turkish culture so they have steady, powerful relationships with Turkish ethnic peer groups. Highly educated young Turkish-Austrians are affiliated with other Turkish migrants not just because of what they represent as the common Turkish ‘mentality’, but also because of their common interest in consumer culture, Turkish music and Turkish appearances. Additionally, the practicability in Austria in terms of socio-economic upward mobility allows for keeping their fondness to Austria where they grew up.

In today’s global world, when many people have in common with the cultural situations of being uprooted, Turkish-Austrians living in transnational space cannot be perceived as isolated, rigid or unchangeable. Contrary to common thought, I sense that their unique situation supplies interrelationships between two cultures. It is obvious that they have several problems about being migrant, integration or their identities because they live in a space which could be described a cultural limbo. Literally, Turkish and Austrian cultures (or

civilizations) are quite different from each other so they always face with various incoherencies and obstacles when they try to combine these two cultures in their life. Despite these incoherencies and obstacles, I believe that they have created some hybrid cultural areas; as a mixture of Austrian and Turkish culture.

Highly educated young Turkish-Austrians have structured their cultural, political and social perception under the influence of their ethnicities but this situation does not let them to hold separate their selves from Austrian culture or being Austrian. Willingly or otherwise, a part of their identities have become Austrian. Beside their strong Turkish mentality, they also possess an Austrian mentality. Their Austrian mentality comes out especially in some professional areas; academic studies, business carrier. In general, they have strict self-discipline, work ethic and community consciousness which cannot be described as a part of Turkish mentality. For example, during interviewees, they awfully talked about corruption in Turkey because they are forced to understand how a crime can be so common, semi-legal and visible in a society. Another awful situation for them to feel Turkish state's strong public authority by police or army power because strings of shooting and illegal-treatments by police or army forces often cause human rights violations in Turkey which are not acceptable in any European country.

As I observed; some interviewees, who stand aloof from living in Turkey, has weaker personal relationships with non-Turkish people and tends to follow native traditions. For example, the two interviewees, who express that they do not have any, close Austrian friends, also reported that they would hardly consider returning back to Turkey. As far as I understood, these two might represent a kind of 'integration paradox'. They underline their cultural distinction from Austrian culture conversely; they want to continue live in the country without any real return idea. They also have the more aggressive and pessimistic opinions, statements and comments about both countries.

During the studies, I have also realized that interviewees with Kurdish roots show sensitivity to human rights and democracy patterns. They are quite interested in these areas because descendants have been experienced in unfortunate politic and social discriminations in Turkey. Interviewees with Kurdish roots stress generally that the urgent problems of Turkey are mostly about Kurdish question. Besides the deficiency of Kurdish rights, they do not any prior consideration to live in Turkey. Additionally, Interviewees with Kurdish roots cannot

speak their native language fluently but their Turkish skills are as good as other interviewees with Turkish roots.

In language case, I do not have any problems to making interviews in Turkish. Despite some of them express that they have problems about Turkish language, mostly all of them have proficiency level Turkish for me. It is important point to prove how Turkish migrants have strong relations with Turkey. In general, third generation of migrants tend to lose their native language skills but Turkish-Austrians still continue to speak Turkish widely.

As mentioned above, interviews have a unique cultural limbo. In some cases, they display their Austrian part; in others, they can behave differently. They approach to NGOs or CSOs with their ethnical background. When I had asked them about member of any NGOs or CSOs, they have perceived any organization related to Turkey or Turkish community firstly then they answered back. They have a low level civil association consciousness which is based on Turkishness or Kurdishness and to advocate their rights in Austria.

There are also several success stories of second/third generation who returned to Turkey. Especially, in artistic fields, some Euro-Turks became phenomenon in Turkey with their different styles and perspectives. This group of Euro-Turks will be role-model for other young generations. So far, success stories in economic and academic areas are not so popular but it began to come out slowly.

I have watched one of Murat Pilevneli's interviews on TV, he is an artists. He said that he decided to move back to Turkey when he was 15 because there was no chance to be something different in Europe as a Turkish, at least for him. I totally agree; it is not impossible but hard to be different in Europe as a Turkish. You know there are lots of problems in Europe about integration, xenophobia etc. But in Turkey, we have at least a chance. We are well educated ones, can speak several European languages and have European perspectives so it might work in Turkey. It is sort of brain gain and everybody will win, including we, Turkey and Austria. I support personally this brain gain or contra-migration whatever it is called (Narin, 29).

Return idea has complex structure; there are several push and pull factors to encourage or discourage. I think; these factors will not stay static by time. Highly educated young Turkish-Austrians take account of several points in order to decide to re-emigrate or stay, including social, familial, politic and economic factors. For example, economic factors can be both pull and push at the same time; economic stagnation in Europe is a push factor for Turkish-Austrians today contrary to this economic boom in Turkey is also pull factor.

There is another reality that highly educated young Turkish-Austrians might be trans-migrants who can easily travel back and forth between their homelands and hostlands. In near future, many Turkish-Austrians will suit into this category under the circumstances of their homelands and hostlands. In this case, roots-migration might turn into a transnational reversible social mobility.

The aim of this study is to display potential roots migration possibilities through highly educated Turkish-Austrian's profile and their perception of homeland and hostland. From past to the present, the migration realities shifts from a blue-collar migration of unqualified labor towards a highly skilled white-collars. The roots-migration of highly educated professionals is going to be critical and significant for development and prosperity of countries in this century. Europe was very attractive for as unqualified or semi-qualified workers from rural Anatolia because of various economic benefits, but today, according to new economic, social and politic circumstances; a new kind of social mobility grows which can be described as a brain gain. In the case of Turkish second/third generation, roots migration processes will be successful only if highly educated Turks do not change their considerations because of conditions of Turkey which can be head over heels. Additionally, the Turkish policy makers, economic leaders and academic interest groups should understand that highly skilled second/third generations will support economic growth but they will also change their considerations with a few unpleasant experiences.

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